

ON THE NĪTISĀSTRAVINIŚCAYA,
A SUBHĀŚITASAMGRAHA FROM SRI LANKA

1. The Sanskrit *subhāṣita* literature of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has been described and analysed by Prof. Sternbach in three important contributions¹. In these studies, the Ceylonese versions of the *Cāṇakyaśataka*, the *Vyāsakāra*, the *Pratyayaśataka* and some other less known compilations of *subhāṣitas* in Sanskrit as found in Ceylonese tradition are dealt with. My present contribution is meant as a small supplement to these works of Prof. Sternbach, providing information on the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*, a so far unknown and unpublished collection of *subhāṣitas* which I have come across in Sri Lanka.

2. The *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* is a small Sanskrit work of 89 *ślokas*. Notwithstanding an extensive search for other manuscripts of the text, I was not able to trace more than one palm-leaf manuscript of it. This manuscript is written in Sinhala script and preserved in the Colombo Museum Library. It has been described by W. A. de Silva². The manuscript was copied in 1902 A.D. from a manuscript in the Janānanda Galvihāra at Maradankadavala in Kalāgam palāta, Anurādhapura. This original manuscript is, however, not listed in K. D. Somadāsa's catalogue³. Other manuscripts with similar titles belonging to temple libraries in Sri Lanka and listed in Somadāsa's catalogue do not contain this text as far as I could ascertain during a visit to most of these temples in 1974. Vol. 2 of Somadāsa's *nāmāvaliya* contains a

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1. LUDWIK STERNBACH, *The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over «Greater India»*, Calcutta, 1969, §§ 39-44; *On the Sanskrit Nīti Literature of Ceylon*, ALB 31/32, 1967/68, pp. 636-663; 34, 1969, pp. 80-116; 35, 1971, pp. 258-269; *Sur la littérature didactique et gnomique laïque d'origine sanscrite à Ceylan*, JA 260, 1972, pp. 79-87.

2. W. A. DE SILVA, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, Colombo, 1938 (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, No. 4), p. 361, text 2256.

3. K. D. SOMADĀSA, *Laṅkāvē puskoḷa pot nāmāvaliya I-II*, Colombo, 1959-1964.

cross-reference from *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* to *Pathyavākya*, but *Pathyavākya* is a quite different work which consists of 263 aphorisms in Sanskrit prose. This *Pathyavākya* was printed in Colombo in 1881⁴. A copy of this rare book is found in the library of the Südasien-Institut of the University of Heidelberg⁵. It originally belonged to Wilhelm Geiger. I have also been able to trace some manuscripts of *Pathyavākya* in temple libraries of Sri Lanka and in two Western libraries. One of these manuscripts belongs to the Historical Museum in Bern (Switzerland). It is listed by C. Regamey under the title « *Nītiśāstraya* », but without further identification of the text⁶. The British Library too has a manuscript of *Pathyavākya*. It is catalogued as Or 6611(168) under the title *Nītiśāstra*. It begins with stanza 1 of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*, but this stanza is immediately followed by « *namas sarvavidoh* » (ms. -eḥ) and the text of *Pathyavākya*. It seems that its scribe or the scribe of the underlying source has somehow confused the two texts.

3. The *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* manuscript of the Colombo Museum Library contains the Sanskrit text of the work only without a Sinhala sannaya. This is quite unusual, because Sinhala manuscripts of such works generally provide the Sanskrit text together with its Sinhala translation. A copy of the manuscript was made for me by Pandit K. D. L. Wickramaratne who is one of the best experts in reading Sinhala handwriting. This copy is written in modern Sinhala script and it is now deposited in the manuscript collection of the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde of the University of Göttingen. Though the script is clearly readable, the Sanskrit text in the manuscript is very corrupt so that the preparation of a reliable edition of our work is not possible on the basis of the now available material. However, with the help of the works of L. Sternbach, it was possible to trace parallels or at least simile stanzas for all but four of the eight-nine stanzas and thus gain an idea of the contents of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*.

4. We cannot determine the author and the date of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya*. There are no references to this work in any other Ceylonese sources known to me. The corrupt state of the text, however, points to a rather long history of the work. Generally, compilations of the 18th or 19th century would not be handed down in such a corrupt way in Ceylonese manuscripts. Moreover, we are rather well informed about the literary activities of Ceylonese authors in the 18th and 19th cen-

4. *Pathyavākya* hevat *Nītiśāstraya*, *Pathya-vākya* or *Nīti-śāstra*, *Moral Maxims extracted...*, published by A. D. A. WIJAYASINHA, Colombo, 1881.

5. Call no. L. I 5006.

6. C. REGAMEY, *Manuscripts sur feuilles de palmier: Les manuscrits indiens et indochinois de la section ethnographique du Musée historique de Berne*, « *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern* », *Ethnographische Abteilung* 28, 1948, p. 54, no. 31.

turies so that we may draw our conclusions *ex silentio* in this case. Further conclusions may be drawn from an evaluation of the parallels only.

5. On the following pages, I have listed the *pratīkas* of the stanzas of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* along with information on the parallels. For the references to the parallel versions I use the system of Prof. Sternbach and I refer readers in particular to the volumes of *Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition*. I have not repeated the large number of parallels listed there, because the compiler of the *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* has not directly drawn from works like *Hitopadeśa*, *Sukasaptati*, *Pañcatantra* etc., but from collections of *subhāṣitas*. Moreover, all these parallels can easily be found in Prof. Sternbach's works. For my references I have used the following abbreviations:

CNSap = *Cāṇakya-Saptati*, ed. with critical introduction by K. V. Sharma, Hoshiarpur 1965 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 32).

Cr = Ludwik Sternbach, *Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*, vol. II, Part 2 and 3, Hoshiarpur 1967-1968 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 29).

Cv, CV, CS used as in Cr.

Dhn = *Dhammanīti*, in: H. Bechert and H. Braun, *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma*, London (Pali Text Society, to appear shortly; contains *Dhammanīti*, *Lokanīti*, *Mahārahanīti* and *Rājanīti*).

IS = Otto Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 3 Bde., St. Petersburg 1870-1873.

Ln = *Lokanīti* (edition see above, s.v. Dhn).

Mhn = *Mahārahanīti* (edition see above, s.v. Dhn).

MSS = Ludwik Sternbach, *Mahā-Subhāṣita-Saṃgrahaḥ*, vol. I-III, Delhi 1974-1977 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 64, 69, 71).

Nśv = *Nītiśāstraviniścaya* (our text).

Prś = *Pratyayaśataka* (vulgata as represented in many Sinhala printed editions; cf. L. Sternbach in « *Brahmavidyā* », vol. 34, pp. 80 ff. as quoted above, § 1).

Rn = *Rājanīti pāli* (edition see above, s.v. Dhn).

Shn = *Sīhalanīti* (cf. H. Bechert, *Sīhalanīti: Ein ceylonesisches Sanskrit-Werk in birmanischer Tradition*, Mélanges Étienne Lamotte, Louvain, in the press).

Vyās = *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, crit. ed. by Ludwik Sternbach, Varanasi 1969 (Kashi Sanskrit Series 193).

6. Introductory stanzas: The three introductory stanzas can be reconstructed on the basis of the available material:

1. *praṇamya śirasā devaṃ trailokyādhipasaṃstutaṃ /
nānāśāstrebyas saṃgrhya nītiśāstraviniścayam //*
2. *adhītyaikam idaṃ śāstraṃ naro jñāsyati tattvataḥ /
nayaṃ jñātvā vibhāgena kāryākārya-subhāṣubham //*
3. *tad ahaṃ sampravakṣyāmi narānāṃ buddhi[kāraṇam /
labhate] sarvataḥ kīrtim parāṃ sarvatragāminīm //*

Ms. readings: 1a: so in introductory stanza of ms. Or. 6611(168), cf. above § 2; -*saṃsatu*; 1c: -*śāstrehi*. — 2a: *ādityekam idaṃ*; b: *jñasyati*; c: *jñatvā*. — 3a: -*vakṣāmi*; *buddhi sarvataḥ* (i.e. *kāraṇam labhate* wanting in ms.; reconstructed from CNSap and Shn).

Parallels: 1: See CNSap 1; cf. also Cr 686 (initial stanza in CV, Cv, CS) and Shn 1. — 2: See CNSap 2; cf. also Cr 43 (second stanza in CV, Cv, CS) and Shn 2. — 3: See CNSap 3, Shn 3; cf. also Cr 406 (third stanza in CV, Cv, CS) and Cr 405.

7. Survey of the other stanzas. For the reasons mentioned above, I reproduce the initial *pāda* of the stanzas only. Stanzas with substantial corrections against the manuscript reading in the reproduced text are denoted by *. Where a reliable reconstruction of the first *pāda* seemed impossible, ✱ is used. Square brackets indicate passages missing in the manuscript. Parallels are listed in brackets, but many of these parallels show considerable textual variations from the text as found in Nśv. « Cf. » points to stanzas which are not identical but show enough similarities to prove that they are of the same origin.

4. *apavādo bhaved yena...* (cf. MSS 1950 and 2718, IS 406 from *Pañcatantra*).
5. **[pratyakṣe gu]rāvaḥ stutyāḥ...* (Cr 687, IS 4238, Shn 9, Dhṇ 217).
6. *bahavo na viroddhavyā...* (Cr 1731, IS 4418, Prś 37).
7. *prṣṭhato 'rkaṃ niṣeveta...* (Cr 4188, IS 4188 from *Hitopadeśa*, Dhṇ 91, Ln 124, Mhn 193).
8. *yasya padmanibhaṃ vaktraṃ...* (stanza incomplete in ms.; cf. Prś 57, Dhṇ 111, Ln 88; for ab cf. also Cr 776, IS 4882, Shn 94; for cd cf. Cr 467, IS 2852).
9. *evaṃ halāhalaṃ kāryaṃ...* (continuation of stanza 8; no exact parallel traced; for cd cf. the evidently incomplete stanza Dhṇ 111, Ln 88; cf. also below, Nśv 60).
10. ✱ *upāyena hi hantavyā ...* (untraced).
11. *bahavo yatra netāraḥ ...* (Cr 1732, IS 4419, Ln 122, Mhn 178).
12. *kecin mṛgamukhā vyāghrāḥ ...* (cf. Cr 301).
13. *calaty ekena pādena ...* (Cr 365, IS 2264, Shn 46, Dhṇ 86, Ln 159, Mhn 77).
14. *kṛte tu pratikartavyaṃ ...* (Cr 296, IS 1874 from *Pañcatantra*).
15. **yasya putro vaśe bhakto ...* (Cr 835, CNSap 5, IS 5382, Shn 85).
16. *sa bandhur yo hite yuktaḥ ...* (CNSap 6, Shn 5, Dhṇ 188, Ln 83, Mhn 144; for ab: Cr 1043, IS 6836; for bcd: Cr 426, IS 2611).
17. **duṣṭā bhāryā śaṭhaṃ mitraṃ ...* (Cr 477, CNSap 7, IS 2891, Shn 7, Dhṇ 182, Ln 126).
18. *paradāraṃ paraśvaṇ ca ...* (Cr 641, IS 3925, Prś 84).
19. *uttam[am] prañipātena ...* (Cr 166, IS 1174, Dhṇ 226, Ln 60, Mhn 149).

20. *ahitāt pratiṣedhaś ca ... (Dhn 97, Mhn 142, Aśvaghoṣa's *Bud-dhacarita* 4.64; cf. MSS 4100 and 4103).
21. śṛṅgiṇaṃ pañcahastena ... (Dhn 216, Ln 90, Mhn 75; cf. Cr 973 with v.l., IS 6341, Shn 60).
22. *āpadarthe dhanam rakṣed ... (Cr 142, CNSap 8, IS 958).
23. *agniṃ stokam ivātmānaṃ ... (MSS 193, IS 61 from *Mahābārata*).
24. *aśaṭho yas tv analasaḥ ... (cf. Dhn 96, Mhn 146; for c cf. also Cr 694, IS 4274).
25. kṣaṇam ekaḥ sukhair vāpi ... (untraced).
26. *daṃśas tīkṣṇanipāte ... (untraced).
27. *agnir āpah striyo mūrkhah ... (Cr 6, MSS 200, IS 64, Prś 42, Shn 69, Dhn 212, Ln 125, Mhn 204).
28. raṇāt pratyāgataṃ sūraṃ ... (Cr 396, IS 2424, Dhn 363, Ln 99, Mhn 184).
29. mūrkhāśiṣyopadeśena ... (Cr 779, CNSap 4, IS 4911, Shn 4, Dhn 120, Ln 127, Mhn 119).
30. tyajed ekaṃ kulasyārthe ... (Cr 431, CNSap 9, IS 2627, Shn 14, Dhn 208, Ln 156, Mhn 76).
31. nadīnāṃ ca nakhināṃ ca ... (Cr 527, CNSap 12, IS 3214).
32. lubdham arthena [gr̥hṇīyāt] ... (Cr 890, CNSap 10, IS 5860, Dhn 101, Ln 78, Mhn 148).
33. *arthanāśam manastāpaṃ ... (Cr 87, CNSap 13, MSS 2920, IS 583, Shn 18, Dhn 55, Ln 28, Mhn 57).
34. yasya yasya hi yo bhāvas ... (Cr 840, CNSap 11, IS 5393, Shn 41, Mhn 150).
35. yasmin karye kṛte siddhe ... (Cr 1836, CNSap 20).
36. bhojyaṃ bhojanaśaktiś ca ... (Cr 746, CNSap 21, IS 4620, Shn 10).
37. vārayet kulajāṃ prajño ... (Cr 914, CNSap 23, IS 5982, Prś 87, Dhn 156, Mhn 215).
38. sakṛdduṣṭaṃ tu yaṃ mitraṃ ... (Cr 1024, CNSap 25, IS 3656, Ln 85).
39. *yo yenecchati sambandham ... (Dhn 236 and Mhn 151: yena-m-icchatī sambandham...; Cr 816, IS 5246: yadīcchech chāsvatīm prītiṃ...).
40. *jaraṭhaṃ ca tapasvīṃ ca ... (cf. Cr 1477 from CNSap 46, and Cr 1666).
41. *arthe pratyupalabdhe ca ... (cf. Cr 1189 from CNSap 47).
42. strīṇaṃ dviguṇa āhāro ... (Cr 159, CNSap 18, MSS 5714, IS 7024, Shn 78, Dhn 167, Ln 161, Mhn 200).
43. yo dhruvāṇi parityajya ... (Cr 860, CNSap 19, IS 5600, Dhn 100, Mhn 147).
44. agnihotrāphalā vedā ... (Cr 9, CNSap 22, MSS 211, IS 71, Shn 68).
45. apakāragr̥hītena... (cf. Cr 182, CNSap 26, IS 1279, Shn 58, Dhn 205, Mhn 252).

46. *dhanadhānyaprayogeṣu* ... (Cr 501, CNSap 28, IS 3042, Dhn 203, Ln 160, Mhn 246).
47. *pārthivasya ca bhr̥tyasya* ... (CNSap 30, Rn 2; cf. Cr 659, IS 7587).
48. *pañca yatra na vidyante* ... (Cr 625, CNSap 29, IS 3862, Shn 71).
49. *kulaśīlaguṇopetaḥ* ... (IS 1830, Shn 47, Rn 10; cf. Cr 290, 291, CNSap 31).
50. *iṅgitākāratattvajño* ... (Cr 162, IS 1089, Rn 12).
51. *medhāvī vākpaṭuḥ* ... (CNSap 32, IS 4976; cf. Cr 789, Shn 84, Rn 13).
52. *sakṛduktam gr̥hītārtho* ... (CNSap 33, Shn 49, Rn 14; cf. Cr 1023, IS 6654).
53. **lekha[ka]ḥ pāṭhakaś caiva* ... (Cr 892).
54. *prājñāḥ śikṣāsu saṁvādī* ... (cf. Cr 698, Rn 15).
55. *samarthaḥ śuciśāstrajño* ... (CNSap 34; cf. Cr 1045, IS 6841, Shn 72, Rn 16).
56. *pīṭṛpaitāmaho dakṣaḥ* ... (cf. Cr 665, CNSap 37, IS 4111, Rn 17).
57. *vedavedāṅgatattvajño* ... (Cr 963, CNSap 35, IS 6269, Shn 48, Rn 20).
58. *na viśvased amitram tu* ... (Cr 565, IS 3430, Prś 36; cf. CNSap 48, Shn 89, Dhn 232, Ln 84).
59. **mr̥dunaiva ripuṃ hantu* ... (Cr 788, IS 4964, Dhn 67, Mhn 8; cf. CNSap 66).
60. **parokṣe guṇahantāram* ... (Cr 646, CNSap 64, IS 3978, Shn 38, Dhn 90, Ln 80).
61. *bhr̥tyā bahuvidhā jñeyā* ... (Cr 743, CNSap 36, IS 4623).
62. *alasaṃ mukharaṃ stabdham* ... (Cr 94, CNSap 40, MSS 3148, IS 639, Shn 66, Rn 4).
63. *tyajet svāminam atyugram* ... (Cr 430, CNSap 41, IS 7530; for ab cf. Dhn 89, Ln 89, Mhn 194).
64. *prājñam dhīraṃ kulīnaṃ ca* ... (untraced).
65. *viśād apy amṛtam grāhyam* ... (abd: Cr 957, CNSap 24, IS 6227; cf. Shn 17).
66. *nātmacchidraṃ paro vidyād* ... (Cr 583, CNSap 49, IS 3692, Dhn 227, Ln 76; cf. Shn 79).
67. *siṃhād ekaṃ bakād ekaṃ* ... (Cr 1076, CNSap 51, IS 7041, Shn 27, Rn 47).
68. *bahukāryam alpa[kārya]ṃ* ... (Shn 28; cf. Cr 691, CNSap 52, IS 4261, Rn 48).
69. *indriyāṇi tu saṃyamya* ... (Cr 1058, CNSap 53, IS 6950, Shn 29, Rn 49).
70. *prāgutthānam ca yuddham ca* ... (Cr 688 as in CS var., CNSap 54, IS 5510, Shn 30, Rn 50).
71. **gūḍhamaithunasaṃkr̥tyām* ... (cf. Cr 355, CNSap 55, IS 2183,

Shn 31, Rn 51).

72. **anālasyo 'lpasantoṣaḥ ...* (Cr 714, CNSap 56, IS 4427, Shn 32, Rn 52).
73. *śrānto 'pi vahate bhāraṃ ...* (Cr 100, CNSap 57, IS 694, Shn 33, Rn 53).
74. *etāṃś ca viṃśatiguṇān ...* (Cr 792 and 928, CNSap 58, Shn 34, Rn 54).
75. *krūraṃ vyasaninaṃ lubdham ...* (Cr 308, IS 7510, Rn 5).
76. *mūrkhe niyojite 'mātye ...* (Cr 784, CNSap 42, IS 4304, Shn 37, Rn 6).
77. *prājñe niyojite 'mātye ...* (Cr 699, IS 4303, Shn 59, Rn 7).
78. *yat kiṃcit kurute kāryaṃ ...* (Cr 798, CNSap 43, IS 5040, Rn 8).
79. **tasmād bhūmiśvaro 'mātyam ...* (Cr 414, CNSap 44, Rn 9; also in IS III, p. 644, note on 4304).
80. *pañḍiteṣu guṇāḥ sarve ...* (Cr 631, CNSap 45, IS 3876).
81. *nātra kaścit krte kārye ...* (Cr 1624, CNSap 59, Dhn 204, Ln 145, Mhn 247; cf. Shn 99).
82. *strīṣu rājasu sarpeṣu ...* (Cr 2076, CNSap 60, Shn 12).
83. *vahed amitraṃ skandhena ...* (Cr 921, CNSap 61, IS 6013, Dhn 215, Ln 86, Mhn 232, Rn 101).
84. *lobhāt pramādād viśvāsāt ...* (Cr 1906 from CNSap 62, IS 5880).
85. *tāvad bhayasya bhetavyaṃ ...* (Cr 418, CNSap 63, IS 2550; cf. also Dhn 29, Ln 142).
86. **ṛṇaśeṣo 'gniśeṣaś ca ...* (Cr 194, CNSap 67, IS 1332, Shn 67, Dhn 237, Ln 87, Mhn 248).
87. *kudeśaṃ ca kumitraṃ ca ...* (Cr 1376, CNSap 68, IS III, p. 631 note on 1796, Prś 10, Shn 20, Dhn 233, Ln 91).
88. *kumitre nāsti viśvāsaḥ ...* (Prś 11; cf. Cr 286, CNSap 69, IS 1800, Shn 21).
89. *sabhāyāṃ yoṣitāṃ madhye ...* (Vyās 79; translated into Sinhala in the *Subhāṣitaya* of Alagiyavanna Mukaveṭi, stanza 71)⁷.

The manuscript ends: *Nītiśāstraviniścayam samāptam. siddhir astu*. This is followed by the note on the copying of the manuscript as reproduced in W.A. de Silva's catalogue⁸.

8. The relation of the Nśv to other texts becomes clear from the following table of parallels with CNSap, Shn and Rn:

7. *Subhāṣita-varṇanā, being a Commentary on the Subhashita* [of Alagiyavanna Mukaveṭi] by W.F. GUNAWARDHANA, Panadure, 1917, Stanza 71, p. 98.

8. See above, note 2.

<i>Nšv</i>	<i>CNSap</i>	<i>Shn</i>	<i>Rn</i>
1- 3	1- 3	1- 3	—
5	—	9	—
13	—	46	—
15	5	85	—
16	6	5	—
17	7	7	—
21	—	60	—
22	8	—	—
27	—	69	—
29	4	4	—
30	9	14	—
31	12	—	—
32	10	—	—
33	13	18	—
34	11	41	—
35	20	—	—
36	21	10	—
37	23	—	—
38	25	—	—
40-41	46-47	—	—
42	18	78	—
43	19	—	—
44	22	68	—
45	26	58	—
46	28	—	—
47	30	—	2
48	29	71	—
49	31	47	10
50	—	—	12
51	32	84	13
52	33	49	14
54	—	—	15
55	34	72	16
56	37	—	17
57	35	48	20
58	48	89	—
59	66	—	—
60	64	38	—
61	36	—	—
62	40	66	4
63	41	—	—
65	24	17	—
66	49	79	—
67-74	51-58	27-34	47-54
75	—	—	5
76	42	37	6
77	—	59	7
78-79	43-44	—	8- 9
80	45	—	—
81	59	99	—
82	60	12	—
83	61	—	101
84-85	62-63	—	—
86	67	67	—
87-88	68-69	20-21	—

9. The sequence Nśv 67-74 corresponds to CNSap 51-58, Shn 27-34 and Rn 47-54. It has been discussed in the notes of the edition of the *Rājanīti* in *Pāli*⁹. This group of verses has been taken over from *Cāṇakyanītidarpaṇa* or *Vṛddhacāṇakya* textus ornator 6.14-6.21; seven of these stanzas form also a sequence in two other main recensions of Cāṇakya's maxims, viz. *Vṛddhacāṇakya* textus simplicior, *Cāṇakyasārasaṅgraha* and (in a slightly different order) in *Cāṇkyanītiśāstra*. Therefore, we can only infer from this passage that our text is indebted to the *Cāṇakyanītidarpaṇa* branch of the *Cāṇakyanīti* text tradition.

10. There are, however, several specific correspondences of Nśv with the *Cāṇakyasaptati* (CNSap) which are evident from the table above, § 8. The *Cāṇakyasaptati* is known from a manuscript in Malayalam script. The editor, K. V. Sharma, has clearly established the particular place of this text in the text tradition of Cāṇakya's maxims. He determines CNSap as « a version of Cāṇakya's maxims, different from all the six versions and bearing peculiar characteristics of its own »¹⁰. In the Nśv, we find parallels for the stanzas CNSap 1-13, 18-26, 28-37, 40-49, 51-64 and 66-69. Thus, all but 10 of the 70 stanzas of CNSap (excluding the two concluding verses) are common to both works. The order of the stanzas also points to their close source-relation (cf. Nśv 15-17 and CNSap 5-7, Nśv 30-34 and CNSap 10-13, Nśv 35-49 and CNSap 20-31 etc.). Many of these sequences are not found in any other known work. There are also several textual affinities (e.g. Nśv 55 and CNSap 34, Nśv 60 and CNSap 64 etc.) which may serve as additional evidence. Therefore, we may conclude that both Nśv and CNSap belong to the same branch of the *subhāṣita* literature.

11. Another clearly related work is the *Sīhalanīti* (Shn). This work is a Sanskrit *subhāṣitā* collection of 108 stanzas. It is known from a few manuscripts in Burmese script, and the present author has made a study of the text¹¹. We do not know the author nor the date of Shn, but there can be no doubt that it is a *subhāṣita* collection of Ceylonese origin, though no Ceylonese manuscripts have been traced so far. The number of common verses of Shn and Nśv is 44, but there are few identical sequences in the order of the stanzas in the two texts only. Thus, it seems that these 44 common stanzas have been rearranged by the compiler of Shn or in its source.

12. The close relation of Nśv to the branch of the *Cāṇakyanīti* tradition which underlies the Pāli *nīti* works of Burma¹² becomes evident from

9. H. BECHERT and H. BRAUN, *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma*, London (to be published shortly by the Pali Text Society), Introduction, § 65.

10. *Cāṇakya-saptati* (quoted above, § 5), p. 6.

11. See above, § 5.

12. See above, note 9.

the correspondences of Nśv 49-57 and 75-79 with *Rājanīti pāli* (Rn) as seen from the table above, § 8. In all, 24 stanzas of Nśv have parallels in Rn. For 36 stanzas, one or more of the other Burmese *nīti* works in Pāli (*Dhammanīti*, *Lokanīti*, *Mahārahanīti*) provide parallels. Some of these stanzas do not seem to belong to any other Cāṇakya version (e.g. Nśv 20), and some show particular textual affinities between the Nśv version and the Pāli version (e.g. Nśv 39, 47, 59 and the common corruption in 8/9).

13. As for the relation of Nśv with the other works of the Sanskrit *nīti* literature of Ceylon, the evidence is much more limited. Only six stanzas have parallels in the *Pratyayaśataka*. One stanza (89) is found in the *Vyāsakāra*, and this is a verse which does not belong to any other version of the Cāṇakya tradition. This observation, however, is no stringent argument to disprove a possible Ceylonese origin of Nśv, because a Ceylonese compiler may have avoided to repeat too much of the material already found in other *subhāṣitasamgrahas* which were in use in Sri Lanka.

14. Thus, the question remains open whether a South Indian or a Ceylonese was the compiler of our small collection of *nīti* verses, but it seems that the Nśv has been an integral part of the *nīti* literature of Sri Lanka in an earlier period.